FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

JANUARY 8, 1916

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Ever farther and farther West men have migrated seeking freedom; it has been left for woman to turn back to the East bringing the gift of freedom

Vol. IV JANUARY 8, 1916 No. 2

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

1420 F Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

Art Editor . . . . MRS. NINA E. ALLENDER

Chairman Circulation Department, MRS. W. T. BURCH

Subscription Price:

...$1.00

...$1.50

Copies...5 *cents*

s, drafts and postoffice orders should be made payable to The Treasurer of the Congressional Union

National Capital Press, Inc., Washington, D. C.

d as second-class matter, Nov. 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under act of March 3, 1879

Notes of the Week

gnificance of the Pan American entific Congess

THE Pan-American Scientific Congress, one of the most important ever held in this country, closed its sessions in Washington, D. C., on nuary 8.

The main idea of the Congress, which was attended by the most distinguished representatives twenty-one South American republics and the nited States, is the unity of all the nations of the Western Hemisphere under one treaty or mutual greement, for purposes of common defense. The treaty would be a broad interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. The protection of mutual interests would be guaranteed, and a dispute between any of the countries would be settled by a court of those nations.

The congress included a woman's section, in recognition of women's profound interest in such a union.

Not one of the twenty-two republics, except portions of our own, accord to women the cooperation in self government which is the basis of the political life of each nation, and the basis, moreover, of all the conferences which have just closed.

A true cooperation in self-government demands as a necessary preliminary the enfranchisement of women.

Council of Women Meets January 12

EXECUTIVE officers of all constituent organizations included in the National Council of Women are expected to attend the meeting the council, which is to open in Washington, January 12 and continue through January 14. he council includes in its membership practically very organization in the United States devoted to e advancement of the interests of women and e public welfare in general.

From its first meeting in the old Riggs House 1888, on a call issued by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, san B. Anthony, Rachel G. Foster, Matilda Joce- n Gage, May Wright Sewall, Ellen H. Sheldon d Jane H. Spofford, the council has increased in pe and influence until from it has developed the ernational Council of Women, the membership which includes women's organizations in all parts he world.

Annual Assembly of Woman's Democratic League

THE Woman's National Democratic League will hold its fourth annual convention in Washington on January 5 and 6. Most of the officers of the League are the wives of Democratic Senators, Representatives, diplomats and government officials.

The honorary vice-president is Mrs. Marshall, and the honorary director is Mrs. Matthew T. Scott.

Mrs. William A. Cullop, of Indiana, wife of Representative Cullop, is president of the League; Mrs. Edward T. Taylor, of Colorado, wife of Representative Taylor, first vice-president; Mrs. Duncan U. Fletcher, of Florida, wife of Senator Fletcher, second vice-president; Mrs. John E. Raker, of California, wife of Representative Raker, third vice-president; Mrs. William Kettner, of California, wife of Representative Kettner, recording secretary; Mrs. Randolph D. Hopkins, of Washington, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Mary C. Adams, of Washington, treasurer; Mrs. W. F. Hancock, of Washington, auditor; Mrs. Charles E. Steinmeyer, of Riverdale, Md., historian; and Mrs. Joseph K. Maxwell, of Washington, national chairman of press committee.

The directors are Mrs. William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska; Mrs. James Pryor Tarvin, of Kentucky; Mrs. Henry L. Edmunds, of New Jersey; Mrs. Francois Berger Moran, of Washington; Mrs. Edward M. House, of Texas, wife of Colonel House, President Wilson's closest friend and adviser; and Mrs. Frank S. White, of Alabama, wife of ex-Senator White.

"Americanizing" Men

THE National Americanization Committee will hold a conference in Philadelphia on January 19 and 20 to launch a statewide campaign for the study of the immigrant problem and for bringing about better living conditions among our foreign-born citizens.

The morning session, to be held at the Bellevue-Stratford, January 20, will be chiefly given over to a discussion of methods and objects in the practical work of educating immigrants in the English language, citizenship, and American standards of living.

Of course we realize that immigration *is* a problem, and that our foreign-born population *do* need education in the "English language, citizenship and American standards of living." Yet it is curious that so much money, time and labor is spent trying to solve the question of the foreign-born population while one-half of the American-born population, which does not, as a class, need to be educated in the "English language or American standard of living," is not permitted to perform the duties of citizenship.

Indians Given Citizenship in Oklahoma

OKLAHOMA received a New Year gift of 2,229 citizens, each of whom is worth about $30,000, when Federal Judge Henry Hudson handed down a decision January 1 holding that all Osage Indians were full citizens of the United States and as such were entitled to all rights, privileges and immunities granted in the fourteenth constitutional amendment.

Minimum Wage for Women in Massachusetts

MOST of the proprietors of the retail stores in Massachusetts have accepted the decision of the minimum wage commission establishing a standard of minimum wages for their women employes.

The decree provides that no experienced woman employe of ordinary ability shall be paid less than $8.50 a week, and they cannot be deemed inexperienced if they have been employed in a retail store for one year or more after reaching the age of 18.

Wages of learners or apprentices of ordinary ability may be less, but if 18 they must receive $7. If 17, the minimum is $6, and no girl of ordinary ability shall receive less than $5 a week. A woman f less than ordinary ability may be paid a lower wage than the prescribed minimum, provided certain previous laws are complied with.

Conscription Bill Becomes Law in England

ON January 4 a conscription bill passed the British Cabinet which calls to the colors unmarried men of from 23 to 26 years of age. The adoption of the bill was effected after a stormy session of two hours and one-half, at which Sir John Simon, Secretary of State for Home Affairs, resigned from the Cabinet.

This measure, which will probably be followed by more drastic proposals of the same order, affects women as well as men; but the women of England have had no means of expressing their opinion upon it. It would have come with greater force from a Parliament that represented the whole people.

Women Workers on French Railways

THE *Literary Digest* for January 1, gives an interesting article on the work that women are doing on the railways in France. In part, the article says:

"More than 25,000 women are now working satisfactorily on railways in France, as porters, cleaners, conductors, or agents. This is due to the war, of course, but it may indicate a coming industrial change of great consequence. In many ways the women are an improvement over the men. Many will hold their jobs after the men return, and the war may thus cause the invasion of an absolutely new industrial field by women workers. Walter S. Hiatt, special European correspondent of the *Railway Age Gazette*, writes to that paper 'that the women are more efficient cleaners; they are also more cheerful and courteous. They are especially adapted to the lighter forms of work and those involving contact with the public.'

"One of the foremen on one railroad said that the women were not afraid of the cars and that they have the advantage over men in that 'they neither drink nor steal.'"

Woman Help Unload Ships in Germany

ANOTHER occupation into which women in Europe have entered since the beginning of the war is that of discharging the cargoes of ships. The master of the tanker Dunsyre tells of the taste of war to which he and all hands were treated. While receiving the greatest courtesy from the German officials, the cargo of his ship was discharged against his will, and part of the story runs as follows:

"You may think it strange, but our cargo was discharged largely by 'suffragette longshoremen.' There were a few old men, feeble and burdened with years, who were in the gangs, but no young men. The longshoremen were largely women. They got down into the holds and shoveled in coal ships as well as discharging the cargo of the Dunsyre. I was told this was necessary, as the able-bodied longshoremen were off to the war."

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SUITS COATS BLOUSES NOVELTIES MILLINERY GOWNS WRAPS FURS

Pan-American Interest in Uniform Suffrage Laws

By Elizabeth T. Kent

I HAVE read in the accounts of meetings of the Pan American Congress so many expressions of the desirability of uniformity in rules and regulations of many sorts, and there has been so strong a feeling of "togetherness" expressed, that I feel assured of the sympathy that will greet my topic.

Perhaps you may feel that the day of uniformity in suffrage laws for Pan America is a long way off, since in our forty-eight states these laws vary considerably. In Connecticut, one must be able to read the Constitution. In some other states, one need not even be able to read the ballot nor be able to write his name. In some states there is a property qualification. These state qualifications, however, are of comparatively small importance, as they affect all classes of people. But there is a state qualification that is a great injustice—the discrimination against one half of the adult population, however they may otherwise conform to educational or property requirements—the barring of women from full citizenship.

This is done in thirty-six states of our forty-eight. But I would rather put it that in twelve states of our forty-eight, justice has been dealt to women and steps taken to insure a true democracy. Being from California, where we have had equal suffrage for five years, I am often asked how it works. Isn't that a foolish question, when ou stop to think? How does manhood suffrage rk? Not very well. How does democracy work? very well, but better than any other form of rnment. Even an imperfect experiment in deracy works better than other forms of government, because personal responsibility educates the individual.

Mrs. William Kent

In Germany autocratic government is advanced to an art. They excel all other nations in the care of the people. There are old age pensions, and motherhood pensions, care of women before and after child birth, expert city planning and management—but little personal responsibility of citizens. Public opinion does not count there as here. We believe we could not have a war in this country if a majority of the citizens were opposed to it. Our elections, expensive as they are, are a great educational institution, a great leavening process, a great disseminater of the greatest thing in the world—an idea.

In twelve states women have a voice in deciding their own affairs, in planning the conditions under which they must live. I love to quote a sentence from President Wilson's handbook of democracy, "The New Freedom:" "If any part of our people want to be wards, if they want to have guardians put over them, if they want to be children, patronized by the government, why, I am sorry, because it will sap the manhood of America." This is as true of women as of men.

We must be very humble as we survey the ideals and achievements of women—a motherhood that has not included in its care the children of the nation—sisterhood that has been strictly limited to those near and dear, with no cooperative concern for problems of the working woman or the home maker, and with hearts and minds closed to the very existence of the prostitute—daughters who have made no attempt to solve equitably the hard lot of the unprepared and unfortunate of the older generation. But humbly as we regard our shortcomings we're hopeful. A strong sisterhood is growing in California, in Wyoming, in Utah, in Colorado, in Kansas, in Idaho, in Washington, in Oregon, in Nevada, in Montana, in Arizona, in Illinois. It includes all the women of all the other states. It includes all the women of Pan America. In the United States of the North, suffrage laws are soon to include women in all the states.

May it not be long before there are uniform suffrage laws for Pan America.

Southern Women and the Federal Amendment

By Pattie Ruffner Jacobs

(From a speech given before the House Judicary Committee, December 16, 1915)

IE suffragists of Alabama have until now refrained from asking the passage of the federal amendment, because we preferred the men of our state a chance to act first, ting the suffrage question through the legis- to the voters. For the first time in its his- a bill was presented to our legislature last uary, and failed of the necessary three-fifths, eby denying the individual voter the opportunity of deciding the question. In effect, what the legislature said was "the man at the polls has no business voting on this question: we are capable of deciding it for him."

We do not believe in being circumscribed by a devotion to any one method of obtaining the ballot, but use and urge any honorable, constitutional means to that end.

Your duty, it seems to us, is clear; for in passing the federal amendment all you do is to submit the question to the legislatures for ratification or rejection. Their ability to decide this matter, without referring it to the voters, has been expressed by other southern legislatures in addition to Alabama, notably, Virginia, Florida, Louisiana, Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina and Kentucky.

WE HOLD it to be no infringement of the rights of the states for you to submit this question to them. For the most vital rights the states possess and cherish is the power to amend the organic law of the nation, and in withholding the opportunity to exercise this right, the Congress would violate the most fundamental right of the states. Congress is settling nothing when it votes to submit this issue to the sovereign states; theirs is the final verdict.

To quote from a few southern representatives in Congress, who expressed themselves last December regarding the doctrine of the states rights:

Representative Saunders, of Virginia, said: "How then can this resolution be critically assailed as an invasion in any proper sense of the states' rights, when it is proceeding under the constitution, and in conformity with the contitution to amend the constitution comfortably to a reserved right contained in that very instrument? We talk as if some outrageous thing were being done today, as if the states were to be robbed of some precious rights in defiance of the law. Why, we are proceeding in conformity with one of the rights of the states, namely the right to approach this body and call upon us to exercise our constitutional function by affording to the states of this Union the opportunity to determine whether or not they will amend the organic law. That is the proposition with which we are dealing today."

Said Representative Howard, of Georgia: "It is a question pure and simple: Are we as representatives of American people, so cowardly as to refuse to submit the question to them, that they may, through their regularly elected legislatures, express the will of a majority as to this great national problem?"

Mr. Stevens, of Mississippi, expressed himself thus: "I contend, Mr. Speaker, that this is not an invasion of states' rights. Three-fourths of the states are given the right to amend the constitution, and it is the denial of a constitutional right granted that number of states if we assert that an amendment shall not be made to the constitution because some state opposes the amendment."

Still another Southern representative, Mr. Tribble, of Georgia, spoke as follows: "Mr. Speaker, I shall not arbitrarily shut the door on my constituents who should also be granted the privilege of expressing their wishes. If two-thirds of the states desire this amendment then the one-third should not complain, but the people not agreein with me would have a right to complain if I shoul force my personal views on them."

Of course, these gentlemen were discussing th great question of national prohibition. . . .

SECTIONALISM should have no place in ou hearts or lives. This demand for suffrage not sectional, it has its adherents in every sta and in almost every town in every state. There little or no organized opposition in my part of t country, but there are many thousands of fi thoughtful, forward looking Southern women band together seeking the removal of this last badge their incompetency.

There is no North nor South, but one great tion, the interest of whose women is the same.

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The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

Reported from Committee,

In the Senate,

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.

In the House,

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate,

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House,

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204 failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Internationalism and States' Rights

THE Pan-American Congress at Washington is blowing a strong current of fresh air into our national thinking, awakening the American people—who are, like all our busy, prosperous and satisfied nations, singularly local in their habits of political thought—to a realization of their deep and permanent relations with all the peoples of the earth.

We are ashamed to have been so slow to recognize the superiority of many of the South American cities, younger and more imaginative than we. And while the first impulse to union with the South American republics was the purpose of extending our commerce and establishing some plan of common defense, the result of such union is a stimulus to our own civic life.

The consideration of any base of common action between the countries of America, moreover, involves our relation to all the rest of the world and makes us see ourselves, as a nation, in the great neighborhood of nations.

The present distress of Europe is felt deeply in America. We have not the wisdom to relieve it. But at least we are not forgetting the efforts and aspirations of the older countries, as we have done through almost the whole of our national history.

This heightened consciousness of our national life directly strengthens the movement for the national enfranchisement of American women.

The states' rights objection to national woman suffrage, which, though weak, is the only objection left to the anti-suffrage forces, simply means that people who feel their local problems intensely, wish to settle national problems locality by locality, so that whatever happens to the larger issues, local interests may be carefully protected.

"Why should another state correct an injustice in mine?" is the cry of a true state's righter.

A time like the present shows the awful evil of all injustice, and the impossibility of any peaceful and beautiful arrangement of life except on a just basis. Without freedom, no country can harmoniously settle its own affairs or cooperate in amity with other countries. Our best and most hopeful plans to secure the international good will that makes civilization possible are made worthless if localities are to magnify into a great principle their right to perpetuate injustice as long as they will.

The only questions essentially local in character are questions which do not occur in other communities at all. The suffrage issue is the same throughout the nation. It should be dealt with by the nation because the nation can put an end to the injustice in the shortest possible time.

The states' rights theory as a reason for blocking national action on social problems is losing prestige every day in the face of the great ideals now wakening the entire world.

The Idealism of the West

THE movement for the national enfranc ment of women derives its main stre from the enfranchised women, numb nearly four million, who can, if they will, aff fortunes of national parties.

Pessimistic people in the suffrage ranks d that this resource is slight, since women voter not use their strength against national par establish the enfranchisement of women.

It is extraordinary why they doubt the ness of the women of the West to work for suffrage with every power at their command.

They argue that because western women alr vote they have no further interest in giving the to women in the South and East. As if any co erable portion of the women who have worked suffrage in the past have done so for the personal gain they were likely to derive from the success of their movement! Suffragists in the East and South, and in the West before women were enfranchised, have been inspired by the hope of building a relation of equal comradeship between men and women which would be a basis for a more beautiful civilization in the future. If women in the past have struggled for these ideals, how can it occur to anyone that women of the West will be unwilling to work for the same ideals, even more devotedly than disfranchised women?

As a matter of fact, the West is quicker than the East to respond to a big idea, to hasten to establish Democracy.

To any one who feels the spirit of our times, it is as clear as the sun in heaven that western women will assist in the enfranchisement of the women of America and will use all the power at their command to do so.

In any other age than this we might doubt their readiness to help. But this is the century of the awakening consciousness of women. In every nation of the earth, women are sacrificing for the advancement of other women. It is one of the biggest and clearest impulses of our time. To imagine that the western women—free, idealistic, generous as they are—will not play a large part in the woman's movement in their own nation is to fail to understand the spirit of our day.

Some Traditions of the Cameron House

THE Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage has started its New Year activities by establishing permanent headquarters in the Cameron House at 21 Madison Place, where the sessions of the first national convention were held in November.

This beautiful residence, which has been the home of such men as Senator "Don" Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Vice-President Hobart, and Senator Mark Hanna, all closely connected with the history of their time, will be the basis of operations from which the Union will conduct its campaign for the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

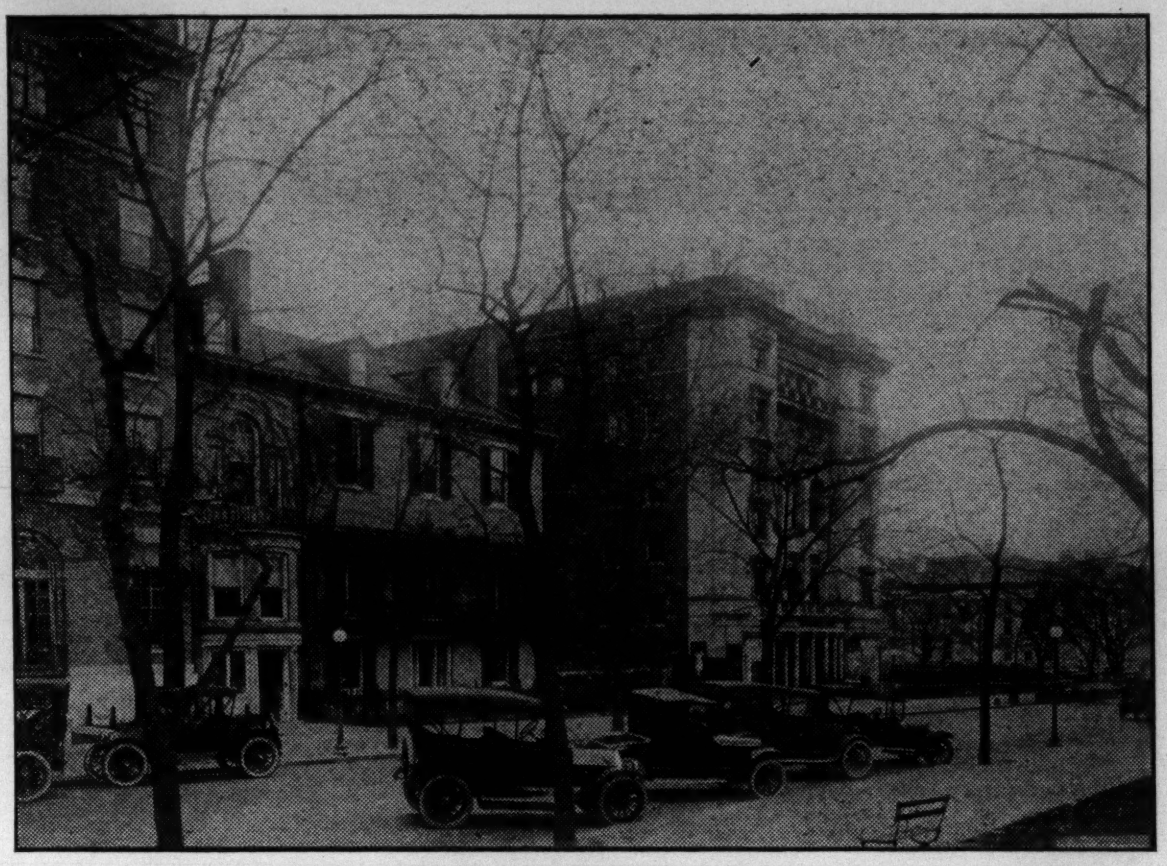
Committee meetings, social events and business meetings will be held in the spacious rooms, already familiar to the delegates of the convention.

The Tayloe House, known as the Cameron House, and sometimes called also the "Little White House," was built by Benjamin Dale Tayloe, a grandson of Governor Benjamin Ogle, of Maryland, and related to most of the leading families of Virginia. Mr. Tayloe in his youth served as private secretary to Benjamin Rush, minister to Ireland.

The house was completed in 1828, but was not occupied until 1890, when, and for forty years thereafter, every American and foreigner of note who came to Washington were guests of the Tayloes. In the language of the time, "Mr. and Mrs. Tayloe dispensed a liberal and elegant hospitality."

The house underwent much alteration at the hands of Senator Cameron. It is described by one who knew it at the height of its social glory as filled ith fine pictures, sculpture and furniture, and radi- a sense of old-world culture rare indeed in the rica of these days. The pictures are now in Corcoran Art Gallery.

Tayloe had made the acquaintance of many guished people during his residence and travels rope and was naturally the host of diplomats ier noted foreigners who came to Washington. ong the well-known Americans who often ded the old marble stairs were John Quincy ns, Presidents Harrison, Taylor and Fillmore; tatesmen Webster, Clay, Cass and Calhoun; the ians, Prescott and Bancroft, and Washington g. The Tayloe House was the last house in hington visited by President Taylor.



View of New Headquarters of Congressional Union, from Lafayette Park Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tayloe died abroad in 1869. The house at 21 Madison Place shortly after passed into the hands of a Mr. Brown, and in 1877 was bought by Senator Donald Cameron. Later it was occupied successively by Vice-President Garrett A. Hobart and Senator Mark Hanna.

It was here that the famous breakfasts took place which President McKinley frequently came over from the White House to share with Senator Hanna.

Mr. Hanna mapped out the campaign of 1900 at this house; it was at this time that it received the nickname of "The Little White House."

Looking diagonally upon Pennsylvania Avenue and across the Avenue to the White House, the old Tayloe House has witnessed stirring events; has welcomed many of those who played a part in them, and has watched administrations come and go, policies rise and fall. That women would ever gather within its walls to demand a share in shaping national events and policies, its former occupants could not have dreamed. But the great rooms are admirably fitted for their new rôle, and the house wears with dignity its banners of purple, white and gold. It looks upon the White House as serenely, but, one fancies, more significantly than ever before.

Suffrage Activities in New York

NEW YORK STATE brings the latest convert to suffrage in Congress, in the person of Representative George W. Loft, of the Thirteenth Congressional District, New York City.

On December 29 Mr. Loft, who is registered as "not voting" on the suffrage amendment in the Sixty-third Congress, promised a deputation of Congressional Union members to vote in favor of the federal suffrage amendment next session.

"A short time ago I was very undecided on this question," said Mr. Loft, "but after thinking it over very seriously and reading the literature you sent me, I have decided that it is right for me to support the Susan B. Anthony amendment in the Sixty-fourth Congress.

"I shall vote for the federal suffrage amendment and do what I can to persuade my colleagues to vote for it also. If my party attempts to caucus against the measure I shall withdraw from the caucus.

"American women have a great many privileges and rights not generally enjoyed by women in other countries, and I see no reason why they should not have political freedom as well."

The interview with Mr. Loft was entirely satisfactory to the women present. He received them with punctuality and courtesy, and a business-like straightforwardness which was a tribute to their earnestness and their intelligence.

Mr. Loft is a business man—a large manufacturer of candy. He showed his visitors through his factory and explained some of the welfare features for the benefit of his employes in which he took a special interest.

Representative Loft has long been a member of the finance committee of Tammany Hall. It is hoped that many of his colleagues in the Tammany Hall delegation from New York will follow his example and decide to vote for the amendment in the Sixty-fourth Congress.

This district is known to suffragists as the "lucky thirteenth," for it was formerly represented by the late Honorable Timothy Sullivan, who was a warm friend of the cause. Mr. Loft is sustaining the good suffrage reputation of the representative from this district.

THE organization work of the Congressional Union in New York state is progressing rapidly under the leadership of Mrs. Belmont. Under her direction numerous deputations to Congressmen are being organized.

Mrs. Brannan's committee is superintending the work in New York City.

Mrs. Mary Beard is organizing a forum on th federal suffrage amendment. Meetings will be he weekly in the New York headquarters.

Mrs. Belmont is now directing her energies t ward the production of the suffrage operetta, "M randa and Her Sisters," in New York, February The operetta, which was written by Mrs. Belmont a Miss Elsie Maxwell, is exceedingly gay and tun ful and promises to be one of the musical success of the season. Well-known artists of the count who will take the leading rôles are Marie Dressl Emmy Whelen and Marie Doro.

Thirteen of the boxes, most of which have ready been sold, brought $125 each. Among prominent people who have taken boxes are M W. K. Vanderbilt, Jr., Mrs. Hermann Oelri Mrs. Charles H. Senff and Mrs. Edward H. tung.

Mrs. Belmont and Miss Maxwell have rece a number of telegrams from managers in Bo Philadelphia, Chicago and other cities sugge that they would like to have the operetta, an probable that it will be put on the road af initial performance in New York.

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Congressional Union Conference in Maine

IN the midst of the Christmas holiday rush in Maine, members of the Congressional Union found time to hold a conference and elect officers to direct federal suffrage activities in their state during the coming year.

Monday afternoon, December 27, was the date set for the conference; the call inviting suffragists to attend it was signed by some of the most prominent women in the state.

The conference was held in Portland in the beautiful home of Mrs. Charles Flagg. In spite of the many conflicting entertainments of the day there were seventy people present; Portland, Old Chester, Woodford, South Chester and Peak Island being represented.

The chief speech of the conference was made by Mr. Robert Treat Whitehouse, a distinguished attorney and president of the Men's Suffrage League of Maine, on the advantage of federal over state action. Mr. Whitehouse has made a thorough and able study of the federal method of political action as applying to the suffrage question. His speech will be given in succeeding numbers of the THE SUFFRAGIST, beginning with the current issue.

Miss Doris Stevens spoke on the work for the federal amendment at Washington. Mrs. Florence Brookes Whitehouse, of Portland, acted as chairman.

The election of state officers followed. Mrs. Whitehouse was elected state chairman; Mrs. Sara P. Anthoine, first vice-chairman; Mrs. Phillip F. Chapman, second vice-chairman; Mrs. Frederick Ayer, third vice-chairman.

Miss Doris Stevens

Organizer of Maine Branch of the Congressional Union

Over eighty dollars was pledged and twelve dollars was taken in membership fees and literature sales.

Some of the most distinguished women of Portland joined the Congressional Union at the close of the conference, among them being Mrs. Frederick W. H. Smith, Mrs. S. C. Rysley, Miss Barbara W. Wilson, Mrs. Lyman H. Nelson, Mrs. Reynolds L. Nicholson, Mrs. Charles H. Miller, Mrs. E. F. Morong, Mrs. Lorenzo M. Miller, Mrs. M. Levine, Mrs. Emma B. Kinsade, Mrs. Philys Keith, Mrs. Ruth H. Jones, Mrs. W. Harrington, Mrs. Frank N. Gillise, Mrs. George C. Lyne, Mrs. Ben F. Davis, Mrs. A. L. T. Cummings, Mrs. E. C. Farnsworth, Mrs. Edmund DeGains, Mrs. Charles F. Flag, Sylvia Freeman, Luraua Sheldon Ferris, Mrs. Laura I. Files, Mrs. R. N. Bryant, Helen Virginia Broe, Mrs. Charles A. L. Brown, Mrs. George F. Burch, Helen G. Coe, Mrs. E. Coplan, Mrs. J. W. Brackett, Eva E. Bean, Melissa R. Beachan, Mrs. James A. Broe, Mrs. Sara P. Anthoine, Alice M. Wood, and Margaretta Schuyler.

A deputation to Congressman Asher C. Hines was planned for the same day, but Mr. Hines was too ill to come back to Maine for the holidays and the appointment was cancelled.

The Federal Amendment vs. State Rights

By Robert Treat Whitehouse

(President of the Men's Equal Suffrage League of Maine and formerly United States Attorney for the District of Maine)

THE recent defeat of suffrage in four eastern states, if an event can be called defeat which carries with it such a presage and assurance of ultimate victory, has united suffrage workers upon the amendment of the federal constitution originally proposed by Susan B. Anthony, which reads as follows:

"Article —, Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"Section 2. Congress shall have the power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

"Article V of the constitution provides as follows:

"Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary shall propose amendments this constitution which * * * shall be valid all intents and purposes as a part of this constitun when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths the several states. * * *"

This proposed amendment must be passed by the ouse and Senate by a two-thirds vote of the mems present, a quorum being present, and must then ratified by a majority vote in three-fourths or rty-six of the state legislatures. When once re-red by Congress in this manner it cannot, acling to the consensus of opinion, afterward be drawn, but remains before the states till ratified the requisite three-fourths, and when any state once accepted it, it cannot afterward rescind ction. These elementary facts are well known oponents of the amendment, but many of its nents are apparently ignorant in regard to it. herefore, the referendum of this proposed dment is once obtained from Congress, it needs ittle argument to demonstrate, and suffragists ti-suffragists are for the most part agreed e procedure by federal amendment would be st direct, economical, speedy and effective of securing nation-wide suffrage. What, is the obstacle in the path of the amendment? nably it will be said that the difficulty lies in willingness of Congress to refer it. But if ss forms its chief *piece de resistance*, let us t what the reason is and what there is in the

amination of the speeches of those congresso opposed the amendment as reported in the Congressional Record of January 12, 1915, shows that out of eleven congressmen who spoke against the measure nine based their opposition on the doctrine of state rights, *i. e.*, that the question of suffrage is peculiarly a matter for regulation by the individual states only, and not properly a subject of federal control. But why is suffrage peculiarly a matter of state jurisdiction? In the speeches of the gentlemen who have asserted this principle in Congress, as well as the reported utterances of President Wilson upon the subject, it is simply stated dogmatically, without any reasons being given.

The old shibboleth of state rights is invoked with a finality which is indeed puzzling, as if this were sufficient to serve as a cloture upon all further debate on the subject. The doctrine of state rights would seem to be a more consistent shield for certain congressmen to use against woman suffrage if it were also invoked by them against federal authority in preventing the ravages of the bollweevil and the financing of the cotton planters in the south. A careful reading of the speeches in the record of those congressmen who opposed the amendment on this ground discloses on final analysis but two arguments in support of the proposition that suffrage is peculiarly a matter for state control, namely, first, that the right to vote is vested in and must be granted by the sovereignty of each state; that it always has been so, and we are challenged to show any reason why it should be a matter of federal concorn; second, that the character, intelligence and capacity of the women who would be voters in one state differ from those in another, and that one state where woman suffrage is deemed desirable and suited to its needs has no right to impose it upon another state where the conditions may be different.

LET us consider these two objections in their order. In support of the first objection Representative Henry, of Texas, the principal exponent of the state rights doctrine, quotes with approval from "The Origin and Growth of the American Constitution," by Hannis Taylor, as follows: "Our political system, as a whole, rests upon the fundamental principle that the right to vote in a state comes from the state, which alone posses the power to confer the franchise; only from the fountain of state power can the right to vote for officials, state or federal, be drawn." But in the same speech he also quotes the following statement from "McCreary on Elections:" "So far as the rig fix the qualifications of voters is concerned sovereignty is in the people of the respective by virtue of the provisions of the federal co tion, and subject only to the limitations conta the fifteenth amendment." The second qu furnishes the complete answer to the first; that say, jurisdiction over suffrage is vested in the p by virtue of the provisions of the federal cons tion, because the constitution left it there upor principle that all rights not expressly grant Congress remain vested in the states, subject far only to the limitation of the fifteenth am ment, or, in other words, subject to such limita already or imposed, or *such other limitations as constitution by further amendment may impose.*

There is, as a matter of fundamental law, no st right to object to an amendment of the constitutio in the manner provided by Article V, above quoted, except in the limited respect provided in the last clause of that article of the constitution, which reads as follows: "Provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article, and that no state *without its consent* shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

The first clause of the ninth section of the fourth article provides that "The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importations not exceeding ten dollars for each person;" and clause fourth of the same provides "No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken." The above provision in relation to amendments prior to the year 1808 being now obsolete by expiration of time, the only prohibition of amendments left is that in regard to the equal suffrage of the states in the Senate.

By necessary converse implication, therefore, since the original constitution only prohibited amendments in these three particulars, amendments relating to any other matter or concern of the nation or individual state were not prohibited. If, therefore, the jurisdiction of the states under the

(Continued on page 8.)

Campaign Through the Country

Connecticut

Chairman: *Mrs. W. D. Ascough, 456 Washington Street. Hartford.*

IN RECOGNITION of her services in the cause of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, when she acted as spokesman in bidding *bon voyage* to the envoys as they started from San Francisco for their trip across the continent, Miss Margaret Anglin received a beautiful bouquet of flowers on Thursday, January 6, when she appeared in Hartford, Connecticut. The flowers were the gift of the Connecticut branch of the Congressional Union, and were tied with an immense bow of ribbon in Congressional Union colors.

The executive committee of the Connecticut branch is planning to hold a series of parlor meetings on behalf of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. Their design is especially to interest the women who have influence with the Representatives and Senators and to bring this influence to bear in Washington and also whenever the Representatives or Senators take a holiday and come home.

Delaware

Headquarters: 305 *Delaware Ave., Wilmington.*
Chairman: *Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles.*

CONFERENCES for the perfection of the Congressional Union organization in Delaware are to be held in each county of the state during the coming month. Plans for the conferences were discussed at a meeting of the state executive committee held in the headquarters Tuesday morning, January 4. Miss Alice Paul was present at this meeting to confer with the Delaware committee concerning the work of the coming year. Members of the Congressional Union in Delaware are already assured of the support of Representative Thomas W. Miller for the Susan B. Anthony amendment and work will therefore be concentrated upon Senators du Pont and Saulsbury to win their votes for the amendment. The organization work for the conferences will be done by Miss Clara Louise Rowe under the direction of Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, state chairman.

Maryland

Headquarters: 105 *West Saratoga Street, Baltimore.*
Chairman: *Mrs. Townsend Scott.*
Organizer: *Miss Emily K. Perry.*

THE month of December began with an open-air demonstration and mass meeting at the Hotel Emerson on December 4, in honor of the envoys from the Woman Voters' Convention.

The great ball room at the top of Hotel Emerson was crowded, over five hundred people being present. A procession of fifty automobiles, lent for the occasion by members and friends of the Union, filled to the limit of their seating capacity by suffragists, met the envoys and Miss Vernon at Overlea, a suburb of Baltimore, and brought them to the Hotel Emerson. Stirring speeches were made by Miss Field and Miss Vernon, and much enthusiasm was manifested by the audience. Over a hundred and fifty dollars was taken up in the collection and in pledges, for the expenses of the meeting.

Over two hundred and fifty dollars has been raised for the work of the Maryland branch of the Congressional Union in December.

Mrs. Edward Graham has recently become a member of the executive committee of Maryland. Mrs. Graham has been for many years one of the most active suffrage workers in the state of Maryland, and has done much to further the work of the Just Government League and of the Congressional Union.

Miss Emily K. Perry, who is organizing in Maryland in the absence of Mrs. Latimer, is to speak on the work and policy of the Congressional Union before the Baltimore Visiting Nurses' Association, at the Nurses' Home, on Madison Avenue, Friday evening, January 7. Miss Mary Kent, superintendent of the visiting nurses, gave the invitation to Miss Perry to dine with the staff and to place before them the policy of the federal amendment work.

At a last meeting of the governing board of the Just Government League of Maryland it was moved to offer the Congressional Union a room or desk place in their headquarters, for the use of the committee, at a nominal price. It was felt to be a more economical method of work, than the renting of two separate headquarters. The Congressional Union has accepted the offer of the Just Government League, and will move in during the latter part of this week.

A large and representative delegation of Baltimore women was taken to Washington the opening day of the convention by Mrs. Almira Sweeten, a member of the Congressional Union and a member of the governing board of the Just Government League. Mrs. Sweeten took her delegation, personally, to the President's reception and helped in the work at the Congressional Union headquarters during the convention. Among those attending the convention from Maryland were Mrs. J. William Funck and Mrs. Mary Bartlett Dixon, Maryland members of the Advisory Council; Mrs. Townsend Scott, chairman of the Maryland branch, who took a party over in her car; Mrs. Summerfield Baldwin, with another party of friends; Mrs. Dora Ogle, vice-chairman of the Just Government League; Mrs. Edna Story Latimer, Mrs. Florence McLouth, Miss Frances Goodwin, Mrs. Anna Scher, Miss Minna Jackson, Miss Gwendoline Scott, Mrs. Ella B. Hanzsche, Mrs. Spencer Heath, and Miss Francesca Harnickell, all of Baltimore; and Mrs. J. N. Dean, of Cumberland. Six automobiles, filled with members of the Congressional Union, escorted the envoys and Miss Vernon to Washington from Baltimore. Miss Vernon said, while in Baltimore, that the welcome in Maryland was as enthusiastic and splendid as any met with on the way from San Francisco to Washington.

Massachussets

A CALL to a conference of the Congressional Union in Boston has been sent out signed by Alice Paul, chairman of the National Executive Committee; Mrs. Lionel S. Marks and Miss Helen Keller, members of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union.

The conference is set for January 7.

Ohio

Chairman: *Mrs. Cyrus Mead, Vandalia.*

"THERE are twenty-two astonished Congressmen in the State of Ohio.

"So far, the aforesaid representatives of half the people of the state have cheerfully mourned or openly exulted over the failure of our two state campaigns," writes Mrs. Mead, chairman of the Congressional Union in Ohio, "and have gone back to their duties in Washington unchallenged or unnoticed by the women of their district.

"This summer each of the twenty-two have heard from the Congressional Union and has been told with courtesy and truth that the women of his constituency are watching his vote in the Sixty-fourth Congress.

"At the present time these men are visiting their districts and learning the desires of their people regarding measures which are likely to come up during the next few months. We are, therefore, seeing them again as promptly as possible to explain that the suffrage question in Washington is an urgent one and that they must be prepared to act favorably upon it.

"Our plan is to help all the people to realize that suffrage is not a question of ten years from now, but a decision of the present day.

"As soon as the immediate need for action on woman suffrage is brought before the women, their response is ready, for everyone at all youthful in spirit is wearied by the old talk of more education in this twice-campaigned state.

"We have an appointment with Mr. Gard for January 10. Mr. Gard has now stated that he is no longer an anti, but believes suffrage to be a matter for the states. However, Mr. Gard declares that, like President Wilson, he has an open mind and is anxious to hear further arguments on the federal method of working for suffrage.

"Mr. Mooney, of Zanesville, Ohio, has been seen during the holidays. Mr. Mooney said in Washington that it was a waste of time and money to see him. His intention in saying so, he has since explained, was to save Ohio women the trouble of coming into his district, as he was most willing to come to Columbus to see them at any time.

"On January 12 I speak at Springfield to a meeting of working women.

"Mrs. Edward Weston, a friend of Mrs. Florence Kelley, is now acting as vice-chairman of the Congressional Union in Ohio in place of Mrs. Rector."

Mrs. B. B. Sawyer, of Columbus, reports that during the past weeks she has visited Senator Pomerene and Congressmen Hollingsworth, of the Eighteenth District; R. C. McCulloch, of the Sixteenth District; J. G. Cooper, of the Nineteenth District; and C. C. Kearns, of the Sixth District. Senator Pomerene up to the present believes that suffrage should be left to state action, but the various Congressmen visited showed deep interest in the federal amendment and a most favorable disposition toward it.

Pennsylvania

Headquarters: 1927 *North Broad Street, Philadelphia.*
Chairman: *Mrs. Harry Lowenburg.*

THE Pennsylvania Branch of the Congressional Union held a meeting of its workers at the Hotel Walton on December 30. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss plans for immediate work.

As a result of this meeting the following activities will begin at once.

A Congressional Union telephone service, organized to secure funds, will be headed by Mrs. Charles Z. Klauder and assisted by Mrs. Louis Angelaty, Miss C. H. Anthony, Mrs. S. D. Beverly, Mrs. H. Burnell, Miss Fanny T. Cochran, Mrs. Henry G. Doan, Mrs. May C. Dowell, Miss Harriet Dulles, Mrs. Franklin Spencer Edwards, Miss Elizabeth Elder, Mrs. M. M. Hess, Miss Ida Katzenstein, Miss Marie Kennedy, Mrs. Stephen Large, Mrs. J. C. McClausen, Mrs. George Morgan, Mrs. Edith Numeyer, Mrs. J. Archer Roulon, Mrs. Howard Rattey, Mrs. Frederick Shepard, Miss Sarah G. Tompkins, Mrs. C. M. Stradling, Mrs. William Albert Wood, and Mrs. Henry Price Wright.

Round table luncheons will be held monthly. Miss Anne Martin and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis will speak at the first luncheon, which will take place on January 13.

On January 26 a meeting will be held in the Bellevue-Stratford rose room. Miss Lucy Burns and Miss Janet Richards will be the speakers.

A shirtwaist ball is being planned for April 29, Miss Sarah G. Tompkins, acting as chairman.

Congressional district chairmen are being appointed and the list of names will soon be completed.

Treasurer's Report

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Miss Amelia C. Ford	2.00
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Mrs. Fairlamb	.25
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Collection	20.30
Sale of tickets	35.14
Membership fees	1.50
Sale of tickets	2.25
Total	$1,175.19
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	100,995.80
Total collected through December 31, 1915	$102,170.99

The Federal Amendment

By Robert T. Whitehouse

(*Continued from page* 6)

original constitution could be properly limited in any respect except the three thus prohibited, and could therefore be properly limited and has been limited so as to prevent the denial of the right to vote in any state on the ground of the accident of race, color or previous condition of servitude, it is equally competent to amend the constitution and impose a limitation providing that the right to vote shall not be denied on account of the accident of sex. The cases are completely analogous, for the denial of suffrage to women is but the relic of the "habit of mind" toward women arising out of her previous condition of servitude.

Neither is it a valid distinction to say that the federal amendment is in effect not a limitation merely, but a conferring of the right of suffrage upon women, since in exactly the same way, although a limitation in words, the fifteenth amendment operates in effect to confer the franchise upon the negro. Still further, if a precedent is wanted, the original constitution limited the right of suffrage by providing that the choice of Senators in each state must be made by the state legislatures, but the recent federal amendment of the constitution, ratified by three-fourths of the state, for which amendment Representative Henry himself voted, removed this limitation and the right to vote directly for their Senators was *conferred* upon all voting citizens of each state. Thus we have the exact converse of the situation, and find that we have a complete precedent in each case, not only for imposing a limitation upon suffrage, but also for actually conferring the right to vote upon the people of the several states. Yet no cry was raised about the inherent right of the states to control this matter for themselves.

The "consent of the governed" is held to be the foundation stone of the entire republic, yet if a female citizen of the state of Wyoming is obliged to move across the line to the neighboring state of Nebraska she suddenly finds that her right to vote on presidential electors and congressmen and to give or withhold her *consent* to any form of government by means of the ballot has been lost. In this union of states in a so-called representative democracy she, a citizen and a taxpayer, it may be, loses her right to the ballot the moment she crosses from one state to another. You cannot take it from the business man, the farmer, the laborer, nor any male on account of his race or color; you cannot take it from the negro; the constitution protects all these, but not women.

We submit that the right to vote cannot be considered as so trivial and local a matter as this.

(*Continued in next issue*)

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(*In this column we list the subscriptions sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscriptions.*)

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Mrs. Emily H. Bright	3
Mrs. George H. Day	6
Miss Frances Frothingham	1
Miss Sara P. Grogan	1
Mrs. William Kent	1
Miss Katharine A. Morey	7
Miss Alice Paul	1
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